

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 USIE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 EURE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-13

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O R 231815Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3520

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 AMEMBASSY BONN 19823

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PGOV NATO WB GW US UK FR

SUBJECT: NATO MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE: PASSAGE ON
GERMANY AND BERLIN

REFS: (A) STATE 285806; (B) PARIS 34476; (C) BONN 19523;
(D) PARIS 34342; (E) BONN 19427

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE BONN GROUP HAS REACHED AD REF
AGREEMENT ON THE PASSAGE ON GERMANY AND BERLIN FOR THE
NATO COMMUNIQUE. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPART-
MENT'S APPROVAL OF THE AD REF TEXT AND AUTHORIZATION
FOR USNATO TO COORDINATE WITH UK, FRENCH AND FRG
DELEGATIONS IN PROVIDING TEXT TO NATO ONCE ALL FOUR
CAPITALS HAVE CONCURRED. END SUMMARY.

1. THE BONN GROUP CONSIDERED THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE
PASSAGE ON NOVEMBER 22 AND NOVEMBER 23 AND HAS
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REACHED AD REF AGREEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING TEXT:

BEGIN TEXT

A. IN CONNECTION WITH GERMANY AND BERLIN, MINISTERS REVIEWED THE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAD OCCURRED SINCE THEIR LAST MEETING IN MAY 1976.

B. MINISTERS EXPRESSED THEMSELVES SATISFIED WITH THE PROGRESS WHICH HAD BEEN POSSIBLE FOR THE SITUATION IN BERLIN ON THE BASIS OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT DURING THE FIVE YEARS SINCE ITS SIGNATURE. IN PARTICULAR THE AGREEMENT HAD SIGNIFICANTLY ALLEVIATED THE LIVES OF THE GERMANS CONCERNED.

C. MINISTERS DECLARED THAT THE SECURITY AND VIABILITY OF BERLIN WERE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF DETENTE. THEY NOTED THE NEED FOR BERLIN FULLY TO BENEFIT FROM DETENTE ON THE BASIS OF ITS TIES TO THE FRG AS THEY ARE CONFIRMED IN THE QA.

D. MINISTERS EMPHASIZED THAT THE QA WAS PART OF A GREATER BALANCE OF INTERESTS WHICH HAD, TO A VERY GREAT DEGREE, MADE POSSIBLE THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE IN EUROPE. THEY NOTED THAT THE EQUILIBRIUM AS A WHOLE WOULD SUFFER IF THE US, THE UK, AND FRANCE, AS WELL AS THE FRG, WHO STRICTLY OBSERVE THE QA, FOUND THEMSELVES PREVENTED FROM FULLY IMPLEMENTING IT.

END TEXT

2. COMMENT: THE ABOVE TEXT REPRESENTS ESSENTIALLY A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE FRG AND FRENCH DRAFTS REPORTED IN REF (E). FOLLOWING ARE THE ELEMENTS OF THE DRAFT WORTH NOTING FOR THE RECORD:

A. PARA B DOES NOT REFER TO THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE QA, AS PROPOSED BY THE FRG AND SUPPORTED BY THE DEPARTMENT (REF A). THE FRENCH REP (BOISSIEU) OPPOSED THE REFERENCE, NOTING THAT WE HAD REFUSED TO COMMEMORATE THE OCCASION WITH THE SOVIETS AND
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HE SAW NO NEED FOR DOING SO NOW. THE FRG REP (HENZE) AGREED TO DROP THE PROPOSAL.

B. THE FRG HAD WANTED IN PARA C TO ATTACK SPECIFICALLY THE THESIS IN THE ABRASIMOV FIFTH ANNIVERSARY ARTICLE IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, THAT BERLIN COULD BENEFIT FROM DETENTE BUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF DIRECT CONTACTS WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES.

OTHER REPS THOUGHT THAT THE COMMUNIQUE WAS NOT THE PROPER VEHICLE FOR TACKLING THAT THESIS AND THAT, IN ANY EVENT, THE FRG DRAFT WAS TOO OBLIQUE TO MAKE THE POINT CLEARLY. WHAT EMERGED WAS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND GERMAN DRAFTS WHICH AT LEAST INDIRECTLY CONVEYS THE MESSAGE DESIRED BY THE GERMANS WHILE ALSO MEETING THE DEPARTMENT'S POINT IN REF A (PARA 3.B).

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 19823

C. IN THE FINAL PARAGRAPH, BOISSIEU ACCEPTED THE EQUILIBRIUM THESIS, BUT REFUSED TO ACCEPT EITHER THE FRG DRAFT OR THE US COMPROMISE DRAFT (PARA 5, REF C). DESPITE EMBASSY PARIS' EXPECTATION THAT THAT COMPROMISE MIGHT PROVE ACCEPTABLE, BOISSIEU ADAMANTLY

REJECTED THE REFERENCE TO "RESTRICTIVE IMPLEMENTATION."
WHILE NOT USING THE SAME RATIONALE AS PLAISANT
(REF D), HE ARGUED THAT "RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATION AND
IMPLEMENTATION" WOULD BE INTRODUCING A NEW FORMULATION
INTO THE BERLIN LITANY AND ADVOCATED USE OF THE
PETERSBERG FORMULA INSTEAD -- I.E., THAT THE EQUILIBRIUM
WOULD SUFFER "IF THE QA IS NOT STRICTLY OBSERVED AND
FULLY IMPLEMENTED." THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG
REP, WHO BELIEVED -- AS IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE MAY
1976 COMMUNIQUE -- THAT BOISSIEU WAS TRYING TO INJECT
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A HIDDEN CRITICISM OF THE FRG INTO THE COMMUNIQUE,
SINCE IT IS THE GERMANS TO WHOM THE "STRICT OBSERVANCE"
HALF OF THE FORMULA APPLIES.

THE BONN GROUP PARTED ON THAT NOTE, AFTER CONSIDER-
ABLE WRANGLING ON THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 22. AT THE
NOVEMBER 23 MEETING, BOISSIEU INTRODUCED THE NEW
FORMULATION AS IT APPEARS IN PARA 1.D. ABOVE. NEITHER
THE US NOR THE UK REP WAS TAKEN WITH IT BECAUSE
IT SEEMED UNNECESSARILY AWKWARD, BUT HENZE ACCEPTED
IT BECAUSE IT MADE CLEAR THAT NO FINGERS WERE
BEING POINTED AT THE FRG. AS NEITHER HENZE NOR
BOISSIEU WOULD ACCEPT THE OTHER TWO ALTERNATIVES, THE
US AND UK REPS ACQUIESCED.

3. ONCE ALL FOUR CAPITALS HAVE APPROVED THE AD REF
TEXT, IT COULD BE PROVIDED TO OTHER MEMBERS OF NATO,
ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT IS STILL SUBJECT TO
APPROVAL BY THE FOUR MINISTERS AT THE QUADRIPARTITE
DINNER ON DECEMBER 8.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: THAT THE DEPARTMENT APPROVE THE
TEXT IN PARA 1 AND AUTHORIZE USNATO TO COORDINATE WITH
THE OTHER THREE DELEGATIONS IN INTRODUCING THE TEXT INTO
THE COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING EXERCISE AT THE APPROPRIATE
TIME.
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